interest of improved maternal and child health, a few suggestions are made.

Purpose and Method

The purpose of this study is to set down the ethnographic data concerning childbirth in Bang Chan, following out the economic, social, religious, and cosmological aspects as needed to clarify the behavior and the psychological attitudes noted. The hope is that not only anthropologists but persons working in programs of maternal and child health will find the data useful.

The data were gathered from Buddhists and Muslims in Bang Chan by interviews and direct observation. Because Dr. Hazel Hauck, in the course of nutritional studies also made inquiries "from the standpoint of anthropological study rather than because of an assumed relation to nutrition or health" (1958:3) she first opened up the broad outlines of the subject. The author, with Dr. Saovanee as an interpreter of unusual competence, and Dr. Saovanee herself then pursued the subject further, including interviews at the Minburi Health Center and at Cha Choeng Sao.

A few comparative references such as to McFarland's dictionary and Phya Anuman's researches are given, but the focus is always kept on Bang Chan. Though many of the findings will have a certain pertinence in Bangkok, the fact that Kaufman found striking differences in Bang Khuat only 8 kilometers away shows how cautious generalizations must be.

The transliterations of Thai words are only approximations, based on the system promulgated by the Royal Institute of Thailand; the tones have been omitted. With the translation always adjacent and a glossary provided at the end of the volume, the author feels there should be little confusion. Proper names which are generally known in a different transcription are left in their familiar form. In referring to works by Thai authors western custom is followed but in referring directly to the authors themselves Thai custom is followed, as it should be in direct address.

125 nutritional floor for this population, beneath which mainten-
146 ance of health cannot be assumed. From this table, allowances were estimated for persons of each age and sex, for Groups A and B (Table 17, p.105). Estimates were made for each quarterly period or Round, during which each family was visited once, and these were averaged to obtain mean per capita allowances for each group for the year (Table 18, p. 108). In each group, one woman was in late pregnancy during the third Round, and a new infant had been added to each group in the fourth Round. Since young infants in Bang Chan are given little more than mother's milk, allowances for the fourth Round were adjusted to account for an additional nursing mother, but not for the infant itself. Differences in estimated per capita allowances for Groups A and B were trivial (Table 18, p.108), hence we felt justified in comparing the estimated food and nutrient intakes of the groups as originally planned, even though Group B contained 5 persons not matched with persons in Group A.

Method of Collecting Data

124 The procedures we planned to use were first pretested
125 in several households to give the observer experience and to be sure that the method would actually work under conditions in Bang Chan. Following the pretest, each family chosen was told in a preliminary interview, what the observer wished to do, and in what ways family members would be expected to cooperate (Appendix C, p. 109). All families that were asked to participate in the study consented. They were not notified in advance just when the observer would visit. Observations on each family included food intake for a 24-hour period, 4 times during the year: twice during the rainy season, and once each during the cool and the hot, dry seasons.

Survey days were planned so as to avoid special festivals when food preparation might be unusual. Six of the 44 survey days fell on (1)wan (4)phra, the weekly holy day. The families visited on (1)wan (4)phra did not, however, take food to the temple on those days, hence food preparation and consumption was probably not unusual.

Alternate visits to the families in Groups A and B were planned so that seasonal variations in food supply would not be apt to account for any observed differences in food intake. Again, our plan could not be fully carried out. Occurrence of cooperative transplanting and other interfering circumstances made some modifications in schedule necessary. Since the objective was to learn about the usual family food intake, the study was not carried on when several members of the family were away from home, or when the participating family was preparing to feed neighbors who were helping with farm work. In such a case, the field worker would go to the nearest

124 125 participating household which had not been visited during that Round of the study. The order and dates of visits to Groups A and B, data from which were used in calculating food and nutrient intakes are shown in Table 7. During three periods of about one month each all visits were to families in Group A, hence some differences in the use of foods between the two groups might be attributed to the order of visits.

Table 7. Order and Dates of Visits to Households Participating in the Dietary Study[1]

Round	Date	Group	Household No.	Round	Date	Group	Household No.
I	May 26, '53	A	67	III	Nov. 26, '53	A	67
	June 4, '53	A	222		Dec. 3, '53	A	222
	June 11, '53[2]	A	2		Dec. 10, '53	A	2
	June 24, '53	A	12		Dec. 17, '53	B	21
	July 2, '53	B	21		Dec. 21, '53[2]	B	23
	July 8, '53	B	23		Jan. 7, '54	A	103
	July 16, '53	A	103		Jan. 14, '54	A	12
	July 23, '53	B	16		Jan. 18, '54	B	16
	July 31, '53	B	25		Jan. 28, '54	B	25
	Aug. 6, '53	B	20		Feb. 4, '54	B	20
	Aug. 13, '53	A	215		Feb. 10, '54	A	215
II	Aug. 27, '53	A	222	IV	Feb. 18, '54[2]	A	67
	Sep. 3, '53	A	2		Feb. 25, '54	A	222
	Sep. 10, '53	A	67		Mar. 4, '54[2]	A	2
	Sep. 24, '53	B	21		Mar. 9, '54	B	23
	Oct. 1, '53[2]	B	23		Mar. 18, '54	B	21
	Oct. 15, '53	A	103		Mar. 24, '54	A	103
	Oct. 22, '53[2]	A	12		Apr. 1, '54	A	12
	Oct. 29, '53	B	25		Apr. 5, '54	B	16
	Nov. 5, '53	B	20		Apr. 25, '54	B	25
	Nov. 12, '53	A	215		Apr. 30, '54	B	20
	Nov. 19, '53	B	16		May 8, '54	A	215

1. Two visits, data from which could not be used due to abnormal circumstances, are not included.

2. (1)wan (4)phra, the Buddhist holy day.

124 On the basis of experience during the pretest, the ob-
125 server began the 24-hour period of observation with an unannounced visit in the afternoon, in time to see the preparation for the evening meal. This proved to have several advantages. A householder whose home had been visited at the evening meal, and who anticipated the observer's return before breakfast, could restrain the dog, if necessary; or the homemaker might postpone washing the rice until the observer arrived to weigh it. Without such cooperation on the part of the homemaker, our records would have been much less complete
[405] than they were. Since few village families had clocks, the time when the homemaker said she would start breakfast was always approximate.

125 Foods were weighed in both the raw and cooked states,
262 and foods given to priests, fed to animals, left over, etc. were weighed so that the actual amount eaten by the family could be calculated. Previously cooked foods included in the survey meals were weighed and raw weights estimated from information obtained in other observations. If possible, snacks were weighed. School children and others who ate snacks away from home were asked to report them to the obser-
128 ver, and weights were estimated. The guides prepared for
262 the observer are included in Appendix C, pp. 110-111. Data were recorded on the schedule, shown in Appendix C, pp. 116-120. and essential information such as the weights of food, after allowing for weight of containers, was later transferred to the shorter form shown in Appendix C, p. 121. As examples some of the data obtained on 3 of the 14 survey days are shown. Examples of notes on procedures in food preparation are included with these records. For examples of notes on the food intake of individuals see Appendix A, p. 97.

Calculation of Nutritive Value of the Diets

Figures from the original records were transferred to the Form for Calculating Raw Weights of Foods Eaten (Appendix C, p. 121), and the edible portion of each raw ingredient consumed was calculated by adjusting the gross amounts according to the use made of the cooked food and the number of family members present. Procedures followed are outlined in Appendix C, pp. 113-115[1]

Few analyses of Thai foods had been made in Thai laboratories, and most of these were for proximate composition only. Therefore, data from other available sources were used. Since Handbook No. 34 of the United States Department of Agriculture "Composition of Foods Used in Far Eastern Countries" (Leung

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[114] 1. Many of the calculations were checked by Mrs. Mary Barkley Campbell, who made independent use of the data.

128 per day were calculated for Groups A and B by Round and for
262 all survey days (24 days for 6 families in Group A, 20 for 5 families in Group B). The total amounts eaten per capita per day, of various food groups, and the relative nutrient contributions of these groups were also calculated.

Results and Discussion

Socio-Economic Situation of the Two Groups of Families Studied

124 General Socio-Economic Conditions. - In the course of the study the observers were able to obtain information, both by inquiry and direct observation, on the economic condition of the families. Questions about land holdings, the amount of land farmed, number of working buffaloes owned, number of priests to whom food was given and sources of income, were asked during the second Round of the survey, after the participants were acquainted with both the field workers and the procedures. As raw foods were weighed, the observer asked if they were home grown or prepared, and recorded the cost of foods purchased.

185
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194 Although our sample was not stratified with respect to economic condition, the families in Group B, i.e. those chosen for apparently better nutriture, proved to be more prosperous than those in Group A (Table 8). With the exception of Household 222 in Group A, rice production was the
[934] main source of income. Families in Group B had a greater
[934] capital investment in land and buffalo, and worked more land, having more productive hands per family available. Farm work was finished sooner, hence members could begin intensive
[801] fishing earlier than in Group A. All children aged 13-15, in both groups, did light farm work and/or selling in market, cooking, baby tending and care of buffalo. In all households, husband or wife or both came from old families in the community, hence had extensive kinship relations.

125 From the viewpoint of parents, the "peak of life" was
511 the time when children were no longer dependent, but produc-
542 tive, unmarried workers whose earnings stayed within the
734 family. Household 16 was such a family, forward looking,
443 progressive and optimistic. The successful and respected couple in Household 25 would enter this "peak of life" situation in a few years. Household 20 included a widower and his almost grown daughter living with his younger brother and the latter's family, and their senile mother, in harmonious cooperation. Ample land, housing, buffalo and farm labor combined with other skills, made for good living. In Household 21, two strong, unmarried sons still lived with their elderly parents. The only poor family, of low status, in Group B, was Household 23. By great industry, especially in

[Text continues on page 63 --- Analysis]

fishing and selling vegetables, they managed to obtain a fair diet. The father's skill as a masseur was valued especially at periods of heavy farm work, after childbirth, and by the cooks at a ceremonial feast. This brought in from 2 to 12 baht per week.

In Group A, Families 67 and 103 were at the most difficult period of life, with young, dependent children, and housing, land and equipment to be acquired. By great industry, including egg production from a flock of 60 chickens, and by severe "belt-tightening," Household 103 was lifting itself into a propertied position. The parents in Household 67 were shy. One or the other of the two older children often stayed home from school to look after the baby, so that both parents could work. Husband and wife in Household 12 were both very shy, the only ones in the survey group who were at all reluctant to participate. They seemed ashamed of limited food. The wife was frequently ill. In Household 222, the 14-year old daughter often gathered and sold vegetables at Minburi before school in the morning. She might have full charge of the younger children for days at a time. A daughter who worked as a servant in Bangkok contributed 50 baht per month to this household. In Household 215, the activities of the wife as medium were predominant. Pay included food, often cooked, and the free use of 3½ rai of land, as well as cash. Maintenance of a son in school in Bangkok cost about 1000 baht per year plus 60 tang of rice. In Household 2, the elderly wife's services as "boss-buyer and cook" at ceremonials, and as marriage go-between did not bring in cash, but gifts, clothing and much participation in feasts.

All families in the survey group were Thai Buddhists, and 6 of them offered food to priests more or less regularly. On 17 of the 24 survey days when the observer visited these households, food was offered. Two of the 5 families that did not customarily give food to priests, did so on one and two survey days, respectively. In one case food was offered to a son who had been recently ordained. Rice was always included in the food offered, and in 3 of the 20 instances observed rice only was given. The weight of cooked rice given by one family in one day ranged from 185 to 1210 grams, with an average of about 600 grams. In 16 instances, some cooked food such as fish or vegetable curry was given with the rice; in one instance fresh pineapple was given.

Cash Expenditures for Food. - Mean total, and per capita daily cash expenditures for food for survey days, are shown, by household in Table 3. (See Table 2, p. 23 for division of food expenditures for Groups A,B) Although cash expenditures for food varied considerably, the amounts in all cases were small, and approximated figures obtained by Janlekha (1955) for 106 households. Larger consumption of animal products, which were the most expensive items purchased,

APPENDIX C

Guides Prepared for the Observer Who Carried Out the Dietary Study

Preliminary Visit to Participating Households

Households selected for dietary study are to be visited in advance, acquainted with the procedure which we wish to follow, and asked for their cooperation.

The following points should be emphasized:

1) Meals should be prepared as usual both in amount and kind. Workers wish to know how much food and what kind, the family eats.

2) Each item of food which enters into the meal preparation will be weighed before cooking.

3) Each prepared food (as cooked rice, fried fish, curry, etc.) will be weighed when the preparation is finished.

4) Amounts of prepared food given to priests, fed to animals or left over, must be weighed, so that the amount of food actually eaten by the family can be calculated.

5) As often as possible survey members would like to be present during the meal, but will not accept food from the household.

6) Each member of the family will be asked to report to the survey worker what is eaten between meals. If the snack is eaten at home, it should be brought to the survey worker first, to be weighed. If the snack is eaten away from home, individuals are asked to tell the survey worker as clearly as possible what was eaten, and how much.

Preliminary information to be obtained at this interview:

1) Usual number of meals taken by the family at this season.

2) Usual time of meals.

3) Time when food preparation is started in the morning, and when evening meal is over.

The family should be told that the survey workers will come sometime during the next two weeks. They should not be told which day, as that might lead them to make some changes in their usual diets, either consciously or unconsciously.

The schedule of visits should be such that each day of the Buddhist "week" will be appropriately represented, i.e. the day before the holy day, the Buddhist holy day, and the 5 or 6 days which follow. Days of special festivals should not be included in the dietary survey, although the investigators should attend many of these, and record observations on the foods served.

Dietary Survey Proper: General Procedures, with Alternative Suggestions

Twenty-four hour period. - Each visit should cover a 24-hour period. After preliminary experience, a good plan seems to be to go in the early afternoon, in time to see the preparation for the evening meal, and to return early the next day, remaining until the 24-hour period is up. This plan has several advantages over making one's first appearance before breakfast:

1) The homemaker may be introduced to the procedure at a time when she is less hurried than she is apt to be in the morning, when she must have food ready for the priests at a fairly definite time.

2) Scales and other equipment may be left overnight, so that these need not be carried before dawn, along with food and water for the survey worker.

3) The risk that food preparation will be started before the worker comes is less if the homemaker expects the survey worker before breakfast.

4) If the worker's visit is anticipated, someone at the house will restrain the dog if necessary.

5) For the more remote households, arrangements can probably be made to stay overnight at the home, or nearby, without previous notification as to the exact date of one's visit.

Because the observer may leave in the afternoon before children return from school, she should ask about snacks eaten away from home on the first afternoon, so that record will be obtained of such snacks eaten on one day, though not necessarily during the same 24-hour period as the other meals recorded.

Number of Visits. - Aim to visit each of the 11 families once each 3 months, i.e. 4 times in the year. This means once during the cool season, once during the dry season, and twice during the rainy season, i.e. early and late. From May 25, 1953 to the end of April 1954 there are 49 weeks. In a schedule calling for one survey day each week, this would allow 5 weeks for unforeseen circumstances which might interfere,

or for planning time off because of holidays, celebrations, etc.

Scheduling of Visits. - Plan to see the families in rotation, going to those in groups A and B on alternate weeks, so that seasonal variation in food supply will not be a major difference between the two groups. The survey worker must have in mind another nearby home, however, which might be visited if the original plan cannot be carried out on a given day.

The survey worker should not give advance notice of the exact day when she plans to come, unless the householder has specifically requested this. Even when notice is requested, it need not be long in advance, i.e. one could stop by in the morning and ask if it would be all right to come back in the afternoon to watch supper preparation.

Directions for Use of Schedule 8 on Which Data Obtained During the Dietary Survey Are to be Recorded.

Most of the items in this schedule may be filled in from census information or by direct observation by the survey worker. The worker will need to enquire re item E. the makeup of the food consumption unit, and J 4, the cost of raw foods purchased. The survey worker should try to observe other items during the day, and fill in by inquiry, if necessary, at the end of the day. Note whether information was obtained by observation (ob) or inquiry (q).

A. Hamlet and house number should be written in from the census information, and should correspond to that on schedule 3 for the same household.

B. Each Household to be visited for dietary survey will be given a key number in advance. This number should be inserted here.

C. Head of household (from census information).

D. Religion. - Some dietary practices are associated with religion, therefore indicate whether the household is Buddhist or Islam by checking the appropriate space.

E. Composition of food consumption unit: List here all persons whose food is prepared in the kitchen which the observer is visiting. Note that all persons living in one household (i.e. at the same house number) may not belong to one food consumption unit.

F. Source and treatment of water. - Find out, by observation if possible, from what source or sources water is obtained for drinking and food preparation, at this season. Note

whether or not water is boiled or treated otherwise before use.

G. Garbage disposal. - While making the dietary survey, the observer should note what is done with garbage. Is edible waste given animals? Is garbage disposal carried out in such a way that it will not attract flies, etc.?

H. Protection of food against contamination. - The observer should note what means are used by the householder to protect both staple and perishable foods from contamination by insects and animals. If the householder's practices are not consistent, the observer should note this, either on the schedule, or in her note book. In the latter case, the schedule should be plainly marked "see notes."

I. Family member observed at meal time. - We have been unable to think of any plan for weighing foods consumed by individual members of the family without disturbing the customary eating procedures. The observer may be able, however, to get some idea as to how food is distributed in the family, by observing one person at a time, and recording her estimate of the individual food intake.

The person chosen for observation should be one of the family members who would be most vulnerable to an inadequate food supply, for example a pregnant or lactating woman, a young baby, a growing child or an old person. The observer should fix her attention on the person to be observed, throughout the meal, and should record as well as possible the amounts eaten of each type of food. Record amounts taken onto the plate, amounts left on the plate at the end of the meal, number of bites or spoonfuls of each item eaten a) directly from the serving dishes and b) after the food is put on the plate. Check your estimates of amount eaten by the person observed with reference to the total prepared for and consumed by the family.

From observations of this sort we hope to get information on questions such as the following:

1. When a child is said to eat all adult food, does this mean that the kinds of "with-rice" and the proportions of rice to "with-rice" are the same for him as for adults?

2. If a pregnant or lactating woman says she eats as usual except for the hot tastes, does this mean a) that she omits or decreases intake of peppery foods and eats no more than usual of other foods or b) that she omits or decreases intake of peppery foods and eats more rice and/or less highly seasoned "with-rice" items? In the case of a child, note carefully any remarks made by adults urging him to eat more of, or suggesting that he eat less of a given item.

3:Hauck et al. D-5 (1952-1954) 1959 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bang Chan

SUMMARY

129 125 Information on health, care, and diet of mothers and small children in Bang Chan, Thailand, was obtained primarily by interview, although some direct observations were made. In general, three areas of inquiry were included in this study: 1) clinical history, especially such information as might have a bearing on the nutrition and health of the child, 2) food intake at various periods, and 3) cultural customs and ideas of interest in relation to the Cornell Thailand Project.

In all, 66 mothers of young children were interviewed. Information on diet during pregnancy, postpartum, and lactation was obtained from women who were either in the stage under discussion or had only recently passed through it.

The description of child feeding practices is based on records obtained concerning 57 children from birth to two years of age, a majority of whom were visited from 5 to 7 times.

Information on growth in height and weight is based on observations made on 71 children, most of whom were weighed and measured 6 or 7 times. Observations were made for 30 of these children both before and after weaning.

843 During pregnancy most women in Bang Chan continued to eat as usual. A few expressed cravings for certain foods, and a minority thought some kinds of food should not be eaten during pregnancy.

846 During the postpartum rest period most women ate a very restricted diet. Rice and fish, with salt, were the foods considered by all informants to be appropriate for this period.

853 As a rule, diet during lactation, after the mother resumed her usual work, was the customary family diet. A minority of informants mentioned foods which should not be eaten by a nursing mother.

164 844 Evidence of the need to improve diets in this region was provided by the occasional occurrence of beriberi or the history of beriberi among mothers as well as by medical inspection and family dietary studies.

853 Breast feeding was the rule in Bang Chan. For a majority of infants observed, breast feeding was continued into the second year, and some were breast fed for more than two years. Few received animal milk after weaning.

INTRODUCTION

121 In the study of food habits and health in Bang Chan, Thailand, mothers and small children were the focus of special attention. We were interested in these groups not only for their own sake, but because in an area where frank deficiency disease was not common, inadequacies in the diet might be reflected in the condition of these vulnerable groups to a greater extent than in the general population. Food habits in this rice producing village have been described (Hauck, Sudasaeh, and Hanks, 1958; Hauck and Hanks, 1959) and information has been presented on nutrient intakes of 11 families (Hauck, Sudasaeh, and Hanks, 1958; Hauck and Sudasaeh, 1959).

122 In the present paper, general procedures are described first, followed by sections on 1) health and care of mothers and 2) of infants, 3) diet of mothers during pregnancy, postpartum, and lactation, 4) feeding of infants and small children, and 5) growth in height and weight of infants and small children in Bang Chan.

PROCEDURES

124 Some of the information presented herein was obtained by direct observation, but much of it resulted from interviews, usually with the mother. One of our first tasks, therefore, was to develop appropriate schedules for such interviews.

Schedules for Interviews.

During the early weeks of getting acquainted in the community, we had preliminary unstructured interviews with a number of pregnant women and mothers of young babies. Frequently the child's father, a grandparent, or other family member would be present. Informants were encouraged to discuss infant feeding, common customs associated with childbirth, and other subjects
125 of interest to the research group. From the information so obtained and from conversations with workers at the Mother and Child Health Center in Bangkok, two schedules were drawn up. In general, both schedules included three areas of inquiry: 1) clinical history, especially such information as might have a bearing on the nutrition and health of the child, 2) food intake at various periods, and 3) cultural customs and ideas of interest in relation to the Cornell Thailand Project. In this category some items were included because of their interest from the standpoint of an anthropological study rather than because of any assumed relation to nutrition or health.

One schedule was designed to obtain information about the mother before and after the birth of a given child (Appendix p. 53) and the other for information pertinent to the nutrition and health of the child from birth onward (Appendix p. 58). Clinical history and food intake were included on both schedules. Spaces were allowed to record height and weight of infants and young children at each visit. Questions about cultural customs were included on both schedules, but most such information is reported elsewhere (Hanks, 1959). Descriptions of procedures used in the interviews and observations are included in the Appendix (p. 58). 125

Subjects.

At the beginning of the study we located as many households as possible in which there were pregnant women or young babies. The question, "What families in Bang Chan have young babies or are expecting babies?", was asked of the headman of each hamlet, of groups in a village store, and of families where we visited. We were able to follow up most of the leads obtained in this way. If possible the mother was visited sometime before the baby was born; soon after the birth (i.e. within a few days); and then when the infant was 1 month of age, 3 months of age, and at 3-month intervals thereafter. If the first interview occurred after the baby was born, the mother was asked about her diet during the pregnancy, the occurrences at the infant's birth, and his food intake up to the time of the first interview. 124 • 125

In all, 68 mothers of young children were interviewed. The first interview with 17 mothers was held during pregnancy; 36 others had infants less than one year old when first seen, and for 15 the youngest child was over one year of age. For various reasons, such as death of the infant, removal from the village, or failure to find mother and infant at home, complete records were not obtained in all instances. Moreover, after some experience we limited questions concerning pregnancy and postpartum care to women interviewed at these times or to women whose infants were under one year of age. The descriptions of diet during pregnancy, postpartum, and lactation are based on interviews with from 30 to 50 informants.

In order to obtain more information, particularly about infants going through the weaning period, older babies in the same households, or in the neighborhood of the households with young infants, were weighed and measured and their food intakes recorded. For these additional children the 3-month interval was usually followed, but they were not necessarily visited at the ages of 6, 9, 12 months, etc.

The description of child feeding practices is based on records concerning 57 children from birth to two years of age, a majority of whom were visited from 5 to 7 times.

124 125 Information on growth is height and weight is based on observations of 71 children, most of whom were weighed and measured 6 or 7 times. For 30 of these children, observations were made both before and after weaning.

HEALTH AND GENERAL CARE OF MOTHERS

145 Information obtained on menstrual history of girls and women in Bang Chan has been reported previously (Hauck, 1956). The median and modal reported age at menarche was 15 years with a range from 13 to 19 years.

163 Most married women in Bang Chan had children, and of 438 pregnancies reported by 84 mothers, over 90 per cent resulted in live births (Hauck, 1956).

843 164 Clinical History and Complaints During Pregnancy.

Most of the women interviewed reported no history of disease which might affect, or be affected by, nutritional status.

Four women had a history of beriberi; 3, a history of malaria; and one had active tuberculosis of which she later died. In relation to the current pregnancy, 6 women had minor complaints such as nausea in early pregnancy, faintness, and leg cramps. The physician considered these as probably physiological. Of the 4 women with more serious complaints, one who said she had pain in the abdomen and legs and difficulty in walking had manifest beriberi when seen a few days after delivery.

844 846 125 Delivery and Care of Mothers After Childbirth.

Information was obtained from 49 mothers concerning delivery and care after childbirth. For 43 of these women, ages reported were as follows:

Reported Age (years)	Number of Mothers
20 or under	7
21-25	11
26-30	12
31-35	6
36-40	6
over 41	1

The mothers interviewed had borne from 1 to 12 children. For 8 of them, this was the first child; but 25, a majority,

One infant had congenital stridor when seen by the physician[1] at 2 months, but the difficulty in breathing had disappeared spontaneously before the baby was next visited at 3 1/2 months of age.

Illness in Early Infancy.

One infant that died on the fifth day was seen when one day old, at which time neither mother nor physician made any adverse comment on its condition. The mother, who was not living with her husband, returned to her work outside the village a week after delivery, and we were unable to talk with her again. So far as we could learn from neighbors, this infant had none of the symptoms concerning which we routinely inquired; namely, convulsions, vomiting, diarrhea, or fever.

A third infant in this series died when he was nearly 2 months old. At 13 days of age, when first seen, this infant had white patches on his tongue which were diagnosed as monilíasis. When the physician saw the child again at 6 weeks of age he made no adverse comments on its condition. Emotional reaction to the infant's death was such that we were unable to get a clear description of events which led up to it from either parents or neighbors.[2]

Three infants had skin infections when seen within a few days after birth. The physician commented that skin was more susceptible to infection when moist than dry and that the babies had become very warm. The weather was hot, and babies were bundled up and/or were near the fire. He gave directions for keeping the skin clean and dusting with sulfa powder.

No deaths from tetanus occurred in this series, although infantile tetanus was prominent among causes of death of infants under one month old (Hauck, 1956).

Medicine Given to Babies During the First Few Days of Life.[3]

On this point, information was obtained concerning 36 of 40 babies seen before they were 6 months old. Thirty of these were given medicine, sometimes more than one kind. Most of the

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1. A physician was present at all interviews with pregnant women and mothers with very young infants.

2. Although the mother had children by a previous marriage, this was the first child of this union, born after the parents had lived together for 9 years. The mother was 41 years old.

GUIDES FOR THE INTERVIEWER AND DESCRIPTION OF ITEMS IN SCHEDULES

General Guides for Interviewer.

Schedule 4 was designed so that one form might be used to record all relevant information concerning the mother before and after the birth of a given child. 125 124

Schedule 5 was designed so that one form might be used to record all available relevant information concerning each child's history from birth onward.

At the initial interview the informant should be asked first about the situation at that time. For example, if the mother has a baby 6 months old, she should be asked about the child's food intake at that time, then what he was fed at an earlier age, for example 1 or 3 months, and finally the questions relating to the baby's birth and first few days of life. Similarly, the mother should be asked first to tell about her own present diet (in this case recorded under Food Habits during Lactation on Schedule 4) then concerning her care and diet at delivery and in the early postpartum period, and finally information concerning her health and food habits during the pregnancy which resulted in this baby.

Ideally, one would have the first interview during pregnancy and follow with records of interviews obtained periodically after the birth of the baby. To gain an idea of the present situation and practices in the village more rapidly, however, parents of infants under one year of age should be asked to furnish information about the infant's earlier history, including the mother's diet and condition prenatally.

The date of interview, in relation to the date of birth, indicates whether a given series of answers relate to the situation at the time of interview, or to an earlier situation, described from recall.

Schedules 4 and 5 relating to a given infant should be identified by the same Roman numeral, as I, in the upper right hand corner. Schedules 5, relating to other children under 3 years of age, from the same mother, should be identified as II, III, etc. An example follows showing information to be obtained at each of 3 interviews with the same mother when the first interview is held during pregnancy and she has two older children under 3 years of age.

Description of Items on Schedule 4.

Date. The date of first interview was entered on line 1. 125 124

1-3. Identification. Name of woman, name of husband, and their residence.

4. Years of marriage. To avoid embarrassment in cases where there had been no legal ceremony, the question was phrased to mean "How long have you had a house?"[1]

5. Present pregnancy. The woman's own estimate of the duration of the present pregnancy in months.

6. Pregnancy, illness during. The physician asked questions,[1] recorded description of symptoms, and commented on nature of illness.

7. Objective signs of deficiency. If the woman's complaints suggested dietary deficiency, the physician examined the patient for objective signs such as absence of knee jerk, changes in hair, skin, eyes, lips, tongue, gums, etc. and recorded his findings or dictated them to the recorder.

8. History of malaria, beriberi, tuberculosis and other disease. The physician asked questions which would lead the patient to describe past illnesses. Advanced symptoms of the diseases listed are sufficiently marked and characteristic to permit the patient to describe them so that the physician would recognize them with reasonable certainty. Furthermore they have a direct bearing on the nutritional history. Under "other disease" such items as chronic diarrhea and symptoms of diabetes were entered.

Postpartum interview, date. If the first interview was obtained during pregnancy, this date was different from the one above. If the first interview was after the birth of the child, this date was the same as the one above. From this date and the date of delivery, one can tell whether the information obtained was recent or recalled, and if recalled, from what time in the past.

9. Delivery.

a. Date. If the delivery was very recent the recorder could ascertain the day of birth (as last Friday) and record it at once according to the Western calendar. Otherwise, the date according to the Thai calendar was recorded, and this was later translated.

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1. The investigator decided on an appropriate way to phrase each question and used the same words consistently.

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124 b. Where. This was designated as "home", "Mother's home", "midwife's home", etc.

c. Type. Anything unusual about the delivery was noted; otherwise it was considered normal.

d. Confined by. If a local midwife attended the mother, the midwife's name was given here. If a nurse, midwife, or physician from outside the village attended the mother, this fact was noted.

10. (2)juu (1)faj.

a., c., d., e., f. The custom of having the mother rest for a number of days in front of a fire is an old one in Thailand. If the mother was visited while she was still resting, the wood fire, if used, was in evidence. If not, the mother was asked if she was using a hot water bottle, hot ashes chamber, or other heating device. From experience one infers that those who do not actually have a wood fire but who used a hot water bottle or hot ashes chamber may reply either "no" or "yes" to the question apparently depending on their attitude toward the practice. If they considered it a good custom, but inconvenient, or if they were hesitant to break with tradition, they might regard the hot ashes chamber or hot water bottle as a modern form of (2)juu (1)faj and therefore reply "yes". If, however, the mother considered the practice of (2)juu (1)faj old fashioned, she might reply "no", yet be using a hot ashes chamber.

b. Days rest. The number of days of comparative rest was recorded. If the mother observed (2)juu (1)faj, this was the same as the days (2)juu (1)faj.

g. Activity. This item was included because of some concern on the part of the instructor in midwifery at the Maternal and Child Health Center in Bangkok because some mothers were relatively inactive, lying on a board before the fire for a number of days. If the mother sat up, went to the latrine, or got off her bed to get things for herself, this item was checked.

h. Bathing. Some mothers did not bathe but had their bodies rubbed with tumeric. This item, suggested by the midwife at the Maternal and Child Health Center in Bangkok, was included to see whether or not there was any general feeling that the mother should not be bathed.

11. Medicine. In our preliminary interviews we learned that mothers often took medicine after childbirth and that frequently this was mixed with liquor. This item was included to learn which medicines were most commonly used and the extent of the practice of taking medicine with liquor at this time.

12. Water. Contaminated water is a possible source of disease in Bang Chan. This item was included because we learned from preliminary interviews that during the (2)juu (1)faj period special precautions might be taken with respect to the source, treatment, and temperature of water consumed by the mother and baby.

13. Milk stimulation. How. In our early interviews we encountered several cases in which we were told that the child was not put to the breast because the mother had no milk. Medicine, local applications to the breast, and certain foods reputed to stimulate milk flow were all used. We wished to know what, if anything, was done with the idea of milk stimulation specifically in mind. 125 124

14. Colostrum. In our early interviews we encountered some cases in which the first mammary secretion was considered unsuitable for the child. It was expressed and discarded. Any ideas as to whether or not colostrum was good for the baby were entered here.

15. Complaints. The physician asked "How, how do you feel?".

16. Objective signs of deficiency. Same as item 7, except that this question related to the post partum period.

Food Habits. The date of interview was entered in the appropriate space, A, B, and/or C. These dates might all be different if the first interview occurred during pregnancy, or they might be all the same if the interview were held during lactation and information concerning food habits during pregnancy and postpartum obtained by recall. Items 17-38 included the categories of food which were noted in the dietary records obtained in 1948-49 (Sharp et al.,1953), grouped roughly according to nutritive value. Frequency with which a given type of food was eaten was indicated by checks in columns labeled: D (daily), F (frequently, i.e. not every day, but at least every week), O (occasionally, i.e. at relatively long intervals) and N (never). Items in these latter categories might be so placed because they must be purchased and were relatively expensive, or because the individual did not like the food. In the latter case, the recorder wrote in D for "dislike" following the item. Note that item 27, Foods disliked, refers to aversion to a given type of food at this period but not always.

17. Rice. See Glossary, p. 51, for description of these preparations.

18. Fish.
a. Fresh
b. Dried
c. Salted
These three categories were included since in preliminary interviews we found that at some times one form might be used to the exclusion of the others; also, salted fish is used in very small amounts. Thus if salted fish only were used during (2)juu (1)faj, this category would be checked. If, however, fish was eaten daily but the fish might be sometimes fresh, sometimes dried, or sometimes salted, the appropriate categories were bracketed together under the appropriate column and one check mark entered.

125 19. Egg.

124 20. Poultry.

Most farmers in Bang Chan raised poultry, but in many households most of the eggs produced were sold. We wished to know whether these foods, though a cash crop, were used by mothers.

21. Meat
a. Pork. Few farmers in Bang Chan raised hogs. Pork, if eaten, was generally purchased.
b. Beef, dry.
c. Beef, fresh

In Bang Chan "beef" usually meant water buffalo meat. If an animal died, some of the meat might be consumed fresh and the rest dried for future use.

22. Vegetables.
a. Green. In this category were included the green leafy vegetables such as swamp cabbage but not items such as green egg plant which although green on the outside are not rich in carotene.
b. Other. All vegetables other than the green leafy ones were included in this category.

23. Fruit.
a. Bananas. Since they were grown by all farmers in Bang Chan, were placed in a separate category.
b. Coconut. Was used frequently in the form of coconut milk and coconut cream in food preparation. Since coconut was one of the chief sources of fat in this area, it was put in a separate category.
c. Other. If other fruit was eaten daily or frequently, the kind of fruit was entered under the appropriate column.

24. Legumes.
a. Dry beans, peas.
b. Peanuts.

Although, according to the records obtained in 1948-49 (Sharp et al., 1953) dry legumes were seldom used in Bang Chan, increased use of legumes had been suggested as a means of increasing both protein and thiamine in the Thai diet. We had also observed dry beans of several varieties for sale in the village, and we wished to get some idea as to the extent to which they were used.

25. Other foods. The most frequently mentioned "other foods" were sweets. 125 124

The interviewer usually began by asking "what foods do you eat?" or "During pregnancy what did you eat?". After the informant had replied, he would ask about specific food categories not mentioned by the informant to be sure they had not been forgotten, then would sum up the information before going on to the next question.

26. Foods craved.

27. Foods disliked.

28. Foods believed to be good for.

29. Foods believed to be bad during.

Items 26-29 were included to get information on beliefs and reactions toward specific types of food during pregnancy, the postpartum period, or lactation. Such ideas might either favor or hinder the introduction of any changes in diet which might be considered desirable.

30. Relation to usual diet. The interviewer asked how the diet at this time compared to the mother's usual diet.[1] The reply was usually entered as "same" or "restricted." If "restricted", items listed under 29 "believed to be bad during" indicated changes from the usual.

Initials of the interviewer and recorder were entered under the appropriate column (as pregnancy, postpartum) and the name(s) of the principal informant(s) entered below.

At the conclusion of the interview the recorder rechecked the Schedule to see that all appropriate spaces had been filled. To indicate that a question was asked or an examination made but the answer or results were negative, a zero was entered. Thus if the mother said she had not been ill during pregnancy, a zero was entered after item 6. If the physician examined for objective signs of deficiency but found none, a zero was entered after item 7 (for pregnancy) or after item 16 (postpartum).

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1. The investigator decided on an appropriate way to phrase each question and used the same words consistently.

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124 Description of Items on Schedule 5.

1-6. Identification. (Same as for schedule 4).

7. Complications of delivery. The physician asked "Was it easy to deliver?"[1]

8. Condition at birth. "How about the condition of the baby after delivery?"[1]

9. Eye prophylaxis. "Were drops put in his eyes early?"[1]

10. Condition after birth.

a. Convulsions. "Did the baby have convulsions soon after delivery?"[1]
b. Vomiting.
c. Diarrhea.
d. Fever.
e. Other.

Symptoms, especially those associated with or which might lead to nutritional disorders in young infants, were listed so that answers might usually be recorded by a check mark, if the symptom was present, or a zero, if absent. Small spaces were left for writing in comments, if necessary, as well as a space for occurrence of other symptoms in the infant.

11. Smallpox vaccination.
a. "Has the baby been vaccinated?"[1]
b. "What was the age of vaccination?"[1]
c. "Was it successful?"[1]

12. Physician's comments on first examination. If the interview was held within a few days after birth, the physician's comments on the condition of the baby were written here. In practice, comments were recorded only when the baby appeared to depart from the normal in some significant way.

13. Early treatment of baby.
a. Medicine. If the new born baby was given medicine, either purchased or prepared at home or by the midwife, the nature of the medicine was noted.
b. Food and water. Here the recorder noted the kind of food, if any, which was offered before lactation was established; also the source and treatment of water given as "boiled rain water", "boiled canal water", etc.
c. Put to breast. (day and time). The physician asked when the mother began to breast-feed her infant. If she

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1. The investigator decided on an appropriate way to phrase each question and used the same words consistently.

said this was on the 3rd, 4th, or 5th day after the baby was born and that she did not let him suck at all until she had milk, a check in the appropriate blank was used to answer the question. If, however, the baby was put to the breast before the milk flow was established, the number of times this was done was entered in the appropriate space. Thus, a mother might put the baby to the breast once on the second day and frequently on the 3rd or 4th days. 125 124

14. Cradle, ventilated. A number of different types of cradles are found in Bang Chan, i.e. those woven of fiber, those made of wood with slatted sides, those with a wooden frame and string side, and those of cloth. If the cradle was in evidence the recorder checked yes or no according to whether or not it allowed fairly good circulation of air about the baby.

15. Cultural Customs.

a. Offered to spirit. The custom of offering the baby to the spirits was noted during the 1948-49 study. This item was included to find out how common this practice was in Bang Chan.

b. By. The name, or relationship, of person offering the child to the spirit was noted here.

c. Items on tray. If the child was offered to the spirits, it was customarily put into a winnowing tray together with various items which were supposed to influence its progress and well-being in later life. For example a pencil, exercise book, needle and thread (for a girl) were frequently placed on the tray. The tapered bamboo used by the midwife to cut the cord, and the clod of earth or the rhizome on which the cord was laid at the time of cutting, were also put on the tray.

If the interview was carried out at the time when the baby was on the tray, interviewers noted and recorded items actually on the tray with the baby. If the interview was carried out at a later date, the interviewers asked what was placed on the tray. Should the informant fail to mention any of the common items used, the interviewer asked about these specifically, i.e. "Did you put a pencil on the tray?", "an exercise book?" to be sure that the informant had not forgotten to mention the item. Comments of interest made by informants with respect to this custom were recorded here if there was space; otherwise they were noted in the interviewer's notebook.

d. Head shaved. This was usually done at about one month of age. Concerning infants this age or older the interviewer asked about the head shaving (which might be obvious). If the head had been shaved, the age at which this was done, by whom, and whether or not there was any attendant ceremony were recorded.

On the lower half of schedule 5 were spaces for recording 4 interviews (A, B, C, and D) concerning the child's feeding, together with information on age, length, and weight on the date of each interview.

125 16. Age. Age was obtained from the birth date (item 4) and was figured by a member of the team according to the western 124 system.

17. Length or height in cm. Height was measured on a locally made wooden measuring device hinged so as to fold (4 sections, each 50 centimeters long) and provided with a sliding set square. Divisions on the scale were burned into the wood. An infant was measured by putting the device on the floor and placing the baby on it. The knees were pressed down so that the backs of the knees were in contact with the scale. One of the research group then placed a flat-surfaced object such as a book perpendicular to the scale against the soles of the feet, while another brought the set square in contact with the infant's head. The readings at both feet and head were recorded and one was subtracted from the other to determine the length of the baby.

Measurements of babies are less exact than for older children, since babies often squirm and struggle during the measuring procedure.

18. Weight. Babies were usually weighed on a scale with a capacity of 15 kilograms in 50 gram divisions. The baby was placed on a pillow or cloth on the platform of the scale and the weight recorded. The pillow or cloth and any garments which had been on the baby were then weighed and this weight recorded. The second weight was subtracted from the first to obtain the weight of the baby.

During the dry season, when boat travel was not possible and visits to the households had to be made on foot, only a bathroom scale was carried. An infant was weighed in the arms of an adult, and the weight of the adult subtracted from the total. Divisions on this scale represented one-half kilogram, but values could be interpolated to one-fourth kilogram. No very young infants had to be weighed on this less exact scale.

The weight of the babies and young children can be considered as approximate only. No attempt could be made to weigh the baby just before a feeding or just after excretions had occurred as could be done with older children. The observed weight of an infant or young child at any given time is affected by variations in these conditions. Nevertheless, the recorded figures give a reasonable idea of the size of Bang Chan infants at various ages, and the rate of growth of an individual child.

Food eaten by the child was recorded by checking the appropriate column, D (daily), F (frequently, i.e. not every day, but at least every week), O (occasionally, i.e. at

relatively long intervals) and N (never). If the informant volunteered that a given food was never eaten or only occasionally eaten because the child disliked or refused it, this information was noted. 125 124

19. Mother's milk.

20. Cow's milk. If cow's milk was being fed to the baby, the brand and type of milk (as Bear brand condensed, Bear brand dried, etc.) was written in the space allotted to the interview together with a check indicating frequency of use.

21. Water.

a. Boiled. If the baby was given boiled water daily or sometimes, the appropriate column D, F, or O was checked. If raw water was used, this item was checked N (never).

b. Rain.

c. Canal. Items b and c indicated the source of the water which might be used either raw or boiled as noted under a.

22. Rice. See glossary, p. 51, for description of these preparations.

23. Banana.

a. Since (3)kluaj (4)nam-(4)wa is a type of banana frequently used for baby feeding this was named specifically.

b. Other. The name of any other types of bananas used was entered in the appropriate column, with a check indicating frequency. Thus, if on second interview the interviewer learned the (3)kluaj (3)hauam were given occasionally, "hauam" was written in the B column opposite "other" and a check entered under "O".

c. Crushed.

d. Baked.

e. With Rice. Items 23, c, d, and e represented ways in which bananas were frequently prepared for infant feeding. If the interviewer learned that other methods were used, these were described separately in the field notes with a marginal footnote on schedule 5 to call attention to this.

24. Vegetables.

a. Green. In this category were included the green leafy vegetables such as swamp cabbage but not items such as green egg plant which, though green on the outside, are not rich in carotene.

b. Other. All vegetables other than the green leafy ones were included in this category.

25. Fish.

a. Fresh.

b. Dried.

c. Salted.

125 124 These three categories were included since in preliminary interviews we found that one form might be considered appropriate and another inappropriate for a child of a given age. Thus, if fresh fish were given daily or frequently but dried or salted fish were never given the child, this could be recorded. If, however, the child were given any type of fish which was prepared for the family, the appropriate categories are bracketed under the column in which the interview was being recorded and a check entered to indicate frequency.

28. Egg.

27. Poultry.

Most farmers in Bang Chan raised poultry but in some cases most of the eggs produced were sold. We wished to know whether these foods, though a cash crop, were used in baby feeding.

28. Meat. If meat was fed to the baby, the type, as pork, dry beef, fresh beef, was indicated under the appropriate column.

29. Other fruit. Two spaces were left for fruit so that if fruits other than bananas were given to the baby with any degree of frequency, the name(s) of the fruit(s) might be entered.

30. (2)kha-(5)nom. This term, used rather generally for sweets, crackers, etc.,was included as a category since we learned in our preliminary interviews that some parents gave (2)kha-(5)nom to children at a fairly early age. Two spaces were allowed so that the names of (2)kha-(5)nom commonly given to a child might be entered.

31. Exposure to sunlight. Several considerations led to inclusion of this item.

a. The teacher of midwifery at the Maternal and Child Health Center in Bangkok told us that some Thai mothers whom she had observed tended to put the child in direct sunlight facing the sun. She believed this to be bad for the baby's eyes and also to cause the baby to perspire overmuch. Mothers might then wipe perspiration off the baby with soiled clothe. She believed this to be a factor in the skin infec - tions seen in babies.

b. The reported high incidence of bow legs among children in the Bang Chan primary school and elsewhere in Thailand, which Dr. Woog (1939) attributed to unsuitable diet for infants and small children and to the practice of encouraging babies to stand and walk prematurely, might also be related to inadequacy of vitamin D. In Bang Chan, many houses had low hanging eaves which permitted little access to sunshine unless the baby was taken outside the house.

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32. Foods good for baby. 125
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33. Foods not good for baby.

Items 32 and 33 were included to get information on beliefs and reactions toward specific types of food during infancy and early childhood. Such ideas might either favor or hinder the introduction of any changes in diet which might be considered desirable.

34. Teaching baby to eat. Techniques used in introducing new foods into the child's diet were entered here or reference made to more complete writeup in the interviewer's notes.

35. Weaning procedure. When a young child (under 3 years old) had been weaned, the informant was asked how the weaning was accomplished. Age at weaning was also entered here.

36. Age at which baby eats adult food. This was interpreted to mean that the child eats all types of food which adults in the family eat.

37 and 38. Circumcision. This question was later found to be inappropriate for this age group. In Bang Chan, Moslem boys were circumcised at about 11 years of age.

Initials of interviewer and recorder were entered in the appropriate place on the line marked "interviewed by", and the name(s) of the principal informant(s) entered below.

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
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harvest time, serve to create a rite of intensification as family members decide together what work will be done by whom, arise early in the morning to work together happily in the fields—sometimes for as long as fourteen hours at a stretch—and actually see the fruits of their cooperative labor mount up on the threshing floors. The sense of familial solidarity and interdependence, and its associated feelings of love, is experienced by all.[10] Also, since harvesting more often than not involves working reciprocally with other families, the host of a reciprocal labor group giving a feast whenever possible at the end of the day, it serves, although to a lesser extent, to intensify feelings of membership in the larger community.

Summary

In my discussion of the "cultural background," I have dwelt primarily on kinship because the family is functionally the most significant social unit in the village and because it is within the context of kinship that personality is developed and, in Bang Chan, most frequently expressed. None of this is meant to imply a lack of importance for other social units—the monastery, the school, the state—or for the non-institutionalized relationships—friends, drinking partners, and business contacts. However, kinship does provide the basic psychological model for all human relationships in Bang Chan,

[10] Although the annual cycle of Thai peasants is described in detail in the available ethnographies on Thai rural life (deYoung 1955, Fraser 1960, Kaufman 1960, Kingshill 1960, Sharp et al. 1953) a few words should be added about the psychological dimensions of this cycle. Thus familial solidarity, interdependence, and love are not the only sentiments that are heightened during the harvest period. Perhaps the most striking quality of this season (December to January) is the increase in the optimism, joy, and general psychic well-being of the villagers: people laugh more loudly than usual; they relish telling about the things they are going to buy; parents take more kindly to the gallivanting of the children. These months contrast with transplanting time (late July to early August) and the period prior to harvest (October to November), when an overabundance of rain can destroy the villagers' rice seedlings or their entire crop. These latter periods are marked not so much by anxiety as by a sense of watchful waiting. All these contrast with the Dry season when things are especially quiet in Bang Chan and when villagers spend their time repairing farming equipment and houses, gossiping, or are working on jobs outside the community. Villagers say that of the three major seasons of the year (Dry, February to June; Rainy, June to January; Cold, January to February) they like the Rainy season best. The season coincides with the rice-growing cycle, is marked by Buddhist Lent and, excepting a final week of Monsoon downpour, is in fact the most comfortable period of the year.

These seasonal activities and attitudes also have direct implications for field work. Thus, while villagers gave freely of their time during the dry season and after the harvest, and during the latter were especially outgoing and benign, many simply would not see me during the weeks of planting and harvesting. The benign attitudes of villagers interviewed after the harvest were reflected directly in the data, as were the noncommittal responses of some villagers who were interviewed during transplanting time.

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
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as do rejected lovers who fear suffering again. Without strong bonds, they develop no sense of guilt for those they injure and stand ultimately responsible only to themselves, individuals among individuals who differ mainly in the amount of influence they wield. Thus Dang [the informant] can make demands of others but feels little obligation toward them. As he left his father and uncle with scarcely a second thought, so others can leave him. Of course, as was indicated by Dang's projective test data, this form of individualism is not entirely without its psychic toll. But on the level of action and conscious decision, the moral for a Thai runs: invest not thy love in a shadow.

The piece by this writer (Phillips, 1959) is essentially an amplification of some of the findings of the above paper and a confirmation, in the life histories of two other informants, of their typicality. The paper was confined to an examination of the development and expression of the needs for dependence and independence in the lives of these villagers. Three major points emerged from the analysis. First, the most common expression of dependence was in the area of subsistence and economics, in the individual's desire to attach himself to others who would give him sustenance in return for services rendered. Over and over again, the informants viewed their relationships with other people, particularly kin, in terms of the others' economic value to themselves. However, this mode of dependence was not so much an overriding compulsion as it was a basic postulate about human relationships: the measure of another person's love was explicitly the degree to which in material terms he served the self. The second point, in contrast to the above, was that marriage was seen as the means by which a person could free himself from the obligations of economic dependence. This freedom has two aspects: freedom from the frustrations caused by others; and freedom to set oneself up as master of one's own household, thus reaping the psychological satisfactions—status, power, and prestige—of having others dependent on oneself. The third and perhaps most striking point concerned the fact that all these informants spent their childhoods being shuttled from one family to another. Although this experience may not have been culturally modal, it occurred with sufficient frequency to be a possibility for every Bang Chan child. It was further suggested that in part such experiences taught villagers at a very early age that they had to fend for themselves, and that the experiences served as psychological prototypes for the sense of fragility of social relationships that is so characteristic of village life.

In contrast to most of the literature cited above, the last two articles are based on data which are products of interviews heavily weighted toward the psychologically expressive. Two of the informants admitted that they told us things that they had never shared with anyone, and the agitation (a

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
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non-histrionic agitation) [9] with which they reported some of their experiences suggested that this was indeed the case. I mention these considerations because the kind of material to come out of the interviews was perhaps not what one would expect from typically affable, easygoing Thai peasants. However, it must be recognized that the material focused only on the private sector of their lives, and indeed a very narrow area of this sector. Thus, although the articles may have been more analytic than previous efforts, they were also considerably more limited in scope.

I have attempted above to describe and evaluate almost all the available literature on Thai personality. There are a few additional sources which might be cited (Ratanakorn 1955, Boesch 1956, Mosel 1957), but their major concerns seem so tangential to our present purposes that it would add little to discuss them. By way of summary, the following points should be noted. The Thai language psychological literature is for the most part an unself-conscious, non-analytic folk literature, and as such is a rich source of data rather than a source of ideas on Thai personality. Illustrations of the value of the literature as data were provided in the text. However, since these data are primarily the product of an urban literati it is difficult to determine precisely to what extent they are also descriptive of peasants, although many of the traits reported seem apposite. There are no psychologically oriented Thai language essays dealing exclusively with villagers. The English language literature tends to be more analytic and broad-ranging in its concerns. Excluding Tirabutana's autobiography, these efforts seem to fall into one of three categories: (1) itemizations of manifest traits with little attention given to the psychodynamics involved (Thai psychologist, Phillips in Cornell Thailand Handbook, Textor); (2) sensitive psychological reflections on incomplete or specialized ethnographic data (R. F. Benedict, leMay); and (3) analyses of a limited set of private psychological issues from a few informants. (Hanks and Phillips, Phillips).

Psychological Dimensions of Village Interaction

Most personality portrayals proceed either by discussing how people behave in terms of a specific set of analytic issues, such as aggression,

[9] This is important simply because when opportunity permits—and the life-history situation is clearly such an opportunity—villagers love to tell a good story: full of histrionics, feigned exaggerations, and emotional flourishes. However, our informants were not given to theatrics during the interviews; on the contrary, they tended to tell their stories with an almost poignant seriousness. The fact that we were the first people ever to take such a direct, personal interest in them as individuals played a crucial role here. Being asked to reveal for the first time how they felt about their early lives, their families, and themselves was cause not only for pride but trust, and they often used the interviews as a way of unburdening themselves.

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
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123 friends" never numbered more than eight or ten people, out of a total population of 1,771.) Although their opinions differed in detail and covered a considerable range, they seemed to agree that I had a *good heart*. One villager said that he knew I had a good heart because children like me, "and children are only attracted to people who have good hearts." On the other hand, another more critical person said that my personality was just like that of a child, "because he always shows his feelings. He does not know how to be cool." The contrasts the villagers saw between myself and other researchers were particularly instructive. Of another field worker, an informant said: "he is not a kind person like *Aacaan* Herb, but he knows how to treat people in the Thai way. *Aacaan* Herb does not know how. He laughs too loud and does not use flattering words. He does not help me as much as the other person either." Yet, in contrast, another villager said: "I like *Aacaan* Herb because he likes me. He tells funny stories. He is not like some of the other *farang* who leave as soon as they get information from you."

123 The ultimate importance of these personal assessments are not easily
124 determined. One villager perceptively noted, for example, that although
[115] the "boss" of the Cornell team was a "good person," it really did not make any difference whether he was good or bad "because he is the 'boss' and bosses have to be respected." Of more direct relevance to the research was
[125] the fact that those individuals whom I counted among my warmest friends were not necessarily my best informants; in fact, some became inordinately anxious and evasive while taking the Sentence Completion Test and TAT. On the other hand, some villagers whom I had never seen before responded to these tasks with obvious enthusiasm. Even the villager who complained about my having wasted his time was a good informant, in the sense of appearing stimulated by and genuinely involved in responding to the sentence cues. It is clear, however, that villagers who liked me were the most approachable of informants, and were more ready, at least initially, to acquiesce to interview requests. The crucial factor here may well be the difference between responding to the field worker versus responding to the research; that is, even though all the respondents were originally induced into being interviewed as a favor to me—and their willingness was in part a function of how much they liked me—such favors did not necessarily carry over to the substantive purposes of the interview: reacting to my queries in a concerned and committed way. Thus, some informants went through the entire interview experience carefully fulfilling the interpersonal "obligation" but all but ignoring its content; others were so stimulated by the content that their initial attitudes toward me, positive or negative, became largely irrelevant. The vast majority of informants of course fell between these two extremes; and in no case were either the interpersonal or substan-

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
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tive considerations completely ignored. In this regard, it must be remembered that for much of the research I was dealing with informants who were selected not for their readiness to give revealing information but for their social psychological representativeness as adult Bang Chaners. Under such conditions, it was inevitable that there should be people who cared little about me or my purposes, just as there should be people who felt the precise opposite. 123 124

One aspect of the villagers' attitudes deserves special mention. This concerns their perception of me as an *aacian*, or "teacher." This perception had significant effects, both positive and negative, on their behavior during the interviews. On the positive side, many informants were genuinely flattered by being asked for information that would contribute to "knowledge." Precisely how their thoughts and opinions might contribute to "knowledge"—or as I sometimes told them, "science"—was not too clear in their minds. But the fact that I was a "teacher" who had crossed the seas and would spend months asking them questions clearly indicated the seriousness of my business. This definition had a marked influence on their whole orientation to the interviewing situation in that they generally approached it with an attitude of earnestness, and on occasion, even solemnity. In fact, my "rapport time" with informants was very often spent in trying to mitigate their expectations about the interview so that they would respond to the substantive questions in a relaxed and easy manner. Usually these efforts were successful and the interview proceeded as a well-balanced combination of seriousness and *sanug*. The most frequent comment of informants after the Sentence Completion interviews was, "It was much easier than I thought it would be." On the negative side, however, informants would sometimes use their solemn definition of the interview as a means of resisting participation in it. Their resistances would take the general form of pleading that they were only ignorant peasants who did not know much about anything; that if I wanted a "true" picture of the way peasants "think," I ought to see more intelligent informants; that their information would "spoil" my results, and the like. Again, I was usually able to allay such protestations by emphasizing the simplicity and "sanug-fulness" of the experience. However, sometimes informants took me literally and produced responses which were "simply" literal restatements of what I had asked them or which had no intelligible relationship to the questions. Once, when I stopped an interview to clarify my purposes, an informant asserted, "But I am giving you simple answers"; in another instance the informant smiled wryly and said, "But I told you I was not very intelligent." A few informants were genuinely interested in the interview but simply lacked the wherewithal to deal with the material. If asked, however, to make a judgment on whether the villagers' perception of me as

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123 a "serious-minded teacher" generally worked to the advantage or disadvan-
• 124 tage of the research, I would definitely answer, "the former."

114 Perhaps even more important than the villagers' attitudes toward the author were their attitudes toward the Thai field assistants who worked with me at various times. It was through the field assistant that many villagers had their actual contact with the research and through him (or her) that I obtained a large part of my data.[1] Because the role of field assistant requires such distinctive qualities—"competence" in a foreign language, willingness to work with peasants and an appreciation of them, a desire to learn the way "other people" live—it was not easy to obtain or retain individuals to work with in Bang Chan. In a country such as Thailand where the term "social science" was virtually unknown until a few years ago, the position of "research assistant" simply offers no occupational future. Consequently, I had six different assistants working for me at different times during almost two years in the field. Two of these individuals were with me for less than three weeks. (One left the rice fields of Bang Chan for a position at the Thai Embassy in Rome; the other just did not like peasants.) Two were extremely able female graduate students in Education who worked only on Sundays and holidays, primarily with the younger village women. Out of both loyalty to me and a genuine interest in, almost love for, the villagers, they stayed on until the research was completed. The fifth, my major assistant, took three months to find, but he remained with me for fourteen months. When he left to work in Burma ("because I have never been to Burma") his place was taken by a very competent and sophisticated assistant district officer whom I "borrowed" from the Ministry of Interior. This last chap saw me through the life histories. Although he was excellent in the highly personalized setting of the life history interviews, his polished urban manner would have been too overbearing for the majority of informants during the earlier, more sensitive stages of the research. While this coming and going of field assistants,

12 [1] During the early stages of field work I was completely dependent on my assistant-
114 translators, despite six months language training prior to leaving for the field. Later, I gained enough control over Thai to participate actively in the interviews. In order to minimize translation errors, however, it was decided to conduct and record all formal interviews (those involving the Sentence Completion Method, TAT, and life histories) completely in Thai, and translate later. The reasons for this are more fully discussed below. In effect, this meant training the assistant to carry the burden of the Sentence Completion interviews, the first large block of the research. By the time we reached the life histories, the interviews were taking the form of the informant replying directly to both myself and the assistant. All formal interviews were based on carefully prepared schedules, including even such matters as instructing on seating arrangements. Only a portion of the total data of course came from these formal interviews. All the preceding materials, for example, were based directly on my own observations, or on the small but crucial verbal events that occurred outside the interviews and which actually comprised the interactive substance of day-to-day life.

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
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("we" or "generalized I")[9] and *khon raw* ("we people"). However, I used two other terms, *khon* ("people") and *khaw* ("he," "she," or "they") in those items most descriptive of the expression of ego-alien sentiments: that is, those sentiments which, on the basis of my knowledge of the villagers, I expected to be most readily denied as being self-referring. Thus, an aggression item read: *"Khon most often get angry when . . . ,"* instead of *"Raw most often get angry when. . . ."* To simplify matters for the reader, later SCT materials which list both the original English language item and the English translation of the Thai translation will also include the Thai pronouns that were used in the various items.

The third stage of the SCT construction involved the pre-testing of the SCT schedule with ten villagers. A major aim of these trial interviews was to examine the quality of all the items. I was particularly concerned with how well informants understood the items and with identifying those items which interested them, those which required revision, those which brought forth revealing material, and those which elicited useless information.

The second purpose of the pre-test was to train my assistant in how to conduct the SCT interviews. Of principal concern was to try to minimize the effects of the interpersonal situation on the informant. Such effects can never be fully cancelled out, but they can be controlled to the extent of insuring that the data obtained represent the informant's product, not the product of ideas the interviewer might introduce into the situation. The major task of the training period, therefore, was instructing of the assistant in elementary interviewing techniques.[10]

The instructions also included such considerations as seating arrangements: try to locate the informant so that the canal—where people paddle by and can be waved to—is in our line of sight, not his. Ideally, he should be able to observe only the interviewers. If interviews are to be conducted in boats (later, eight of them were) the boat should be pulled off into one of the canal tributaries to minimize the disturbance from canal traffic. In general, privacy can be obtained by telling informants that since we wanted

[9] *Raw* as a "generalized I" is not as ear-catching in Thai as it is in English. Thus, although *raw* can always mean "we," it is a perfect synonym, not a substitute, for "I" when the speaker wishes to indicate less self-reference. Another way of putting it is that when it is used to mean "I," the ordinary "we"-"I" contrast is psychologically inoperative; *raw* simply becomes an attenuated form of "I."

[10] The techniques which I had the most difficulty impressing on my assistants concerned such seemingly simple matters as the following: never afford the informant any hint of a response; if his first few responses are wild, repeat the instructions, and pick up the interview where it was left off, adding the items with the strange responses at the end; do not hesitate to encourage the informant with comments such as "that is fine"; if the informant gives funny responses, smile but do not laugh; if he is hesitating too long on an item, simply repeat the item as a prod; if he does not respond after three repeats, go on to the next item, and the like.

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
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124 each person's own ideas, not those of other family members, it would be best to find somewhere we can be by ourselves.[11] Every informant in the sample eventually accepted our request for privacy with complete understanding. Also, it was usually easy to find an isolated spot: underneath the house, a buffalo shed, in a grove of trees, or if necessary in the boat. 124 However, because Bang Chan notions of privacy do not apply to children, 858 approximately one-third of the interviews were conducted with children in attendance at one point or another. The first time a child appeared, we made an attempt to shoo him away. This, however, was usually futile: he would leave and then return; only the boredom of our adult conversation would eventually drive him away. In the case of nursing children, we would always wait until the mother was free, although if the child wanted the breast during the interview we would simply continue and "ignore" his presence; his mother seemed to, at least at the conscious level.

124 One of the more important administrative tasks of the pre-test was to try *125 out various instructions that would be given to *informants* on how to take the SCT. During these trial interviews, we experimented with various versions of the "introductory remarks" and settled on the following as the version to be used with our final 111 informants.

124 After explaining to the informant that we had come to chat, and after 123 having chatted (which varied from ten minutes to two hours, depending upon the subject matter and the mood of the informant) we reminded him that I had been sent to Bang Chan by Cornell University to study the life and thought of the Thai people: "My professor sent me, and when I return to America, he will examine me on the information that I have gathered. So I would like to ask you for your *personal* help. I know that you can help me and can give me a true picture of the life and thought of Thai farmers. And [with a giggle] I think you can help me pass my examination." At this point, during the regular interviews, I would remind the informant that a few weeks earlier the abbot of Monastery Bang Chan had, on a ceremonially auspicious day, supervised the lottery from which the names of my informants had been selected: [12]

> *Aacaan* Phuang supervised the ceremony and your family was one of the families chosen in the lottery to be interviewed by me. Both *Aacaan* Phuang and I thought that this was the best way to select

* [125] [11] Informants were also asked, on the same grounds, not to reveal the items or their responses to other villagers. We are certain that there were several who ignored our request—not out of malice but simply because it was not that important to them. However, since there were so many items on the schedule, covering so many different areas, I doubt whether their reports to other potential informants biased our results in any substantial way.

[12] I am indebted to Robert B. Textor for having originally suggested this method of selecting part of my sample.

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
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families if I am to obtain the true picture about the people of Bang Chan. 124

I have something here that is like a game or a puzzle. It is a list of sentences about things that happen every day in life; just plain, ordinary things. These sentences, however, are not complete sentences. They are only half sentences. I would like you to finish these sentences for me. For example, take the sentence: *"When it begins to rain, he. . . ."* I would appreciate your finishing this sentence with anything that comes to your mind. The only thing I ask is that your completion makes sense: that it fits with the first part of the sentence. 125* 124

You can make your completions as long as you want; the length of a sentence is unimportant. I want to tell you that with these sentences there is no such thing as a right completion or a wrong completion. All I would like is your own idea on what the completion should be. I expect that different people will give different completions, so all I want is your personal opinion.

I am going to ask other people in this family—except the children, of course—to complete the sentences. But we would like to ask each person one at a time, individually and privately. So I wonder if we can go somewhere where we can have privacy. But before we begin, why don't we try a test sentence. Tell me the completion of the following sentence: *"A boy, crossing a bridge, was showing off to a girl, and he fell into the canal, so he. . . ."*

The Selection and Nature of the Sample

The 111 individuals comprising the SCT sample represent an 11 percent stratified sample of the adult population of Bang Chan (persons over twenty years of age, or 989 of the 1,771 villagers) on four major variables: age, sex, religion, and economic status. The sample is based on a village census gathered by earlier Cornell University researchers and brought up-to-date by me during my first few months in the field. The economic status variable is based on judgments made by the seven hamlet headmen and fourteen assistant hamlet headmen living in Bang Chan, and thus represents an "inside," nonobjective view of a family's economic position in the community.

Several factors entered into the decision to select the sample on a quota rather than random basis. Most important was my decision to select informants from only two of the seven Bang Chan hamlets. This in turn was based on the need to save time. During the period that I was working on the census and traveling through all seven hamlets, I noticed that I was actually spending twice as much time on travel than I was spending with

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
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informants. This was due to the widely dispersed nature of Bang Chan homesteads and to the fact that the headmen and assistant headmen for whom we were looking often were not in, requiring that we return a second and even a third or fourth time. (Appointments in the village can be made, but they are almost never kept.) There was no reason to suppose that regular informants would live any closer to the Cornell "Office," or would be any more homebound than these individuals. Since it was imperative to get on with the research, I decided to select the sample from the hamlet in which the "Office" was located and the one immediately adjacent to it. Although these two hamlets appeared similar to other Bang Chan hamlets in most respects, they contained a larger percentage of wealthier villagers, a smaller percentage of poorer ones, and more Moslems than did other hamlets. Since at the time I thought that wealth or religion might be crucial variables—for example, on such SCT items as *"The most important thing in his life is . . ."*—and since, if I had selected a completely random sample from these two hamlets I would probably have obtained too many Moslems or too few poor villagers, I decided to invoke quota considerations in the selection of informants. As it turned out later, after the data were gathered and examined, there were no notable differences in the responses of informants from different economic or religious categories to these and to most other items. This is one of the reasons that the data below are being handled in modal terms, rather than in terms of intra-sample differences. Also, my sample was much too small to consider such potential differences as anything more than heuristic. However, at the time I felt that it was necessary to have the representation on these particular variables absolutely correct.

Another factor pointing to a quota sample was the desirability of having some Buddhist monks as informants. Since on a random basis, the likelihood that any monks would have been in our sample was literally 1 in 296, it was decided simply to ignore chance considerations in order to include some of these individuals; seven of the SCT informants were monks. Similarly, there were other villagers with special attributes that I felt merited inclusion: the two male school teachers were two such individuals, as was the villager who had a reputation for being a *nagkleeng*. A young man who had been to Korea with the Thai army was also such a person.

To a certain extent, random factors did enter into the inclusion of a number of informants in the sample. This was one of the functions of the lottery, referred to earlier, conducted by the abbot of Monastery Bang Chan. However, the persons chosen by lot served mainly as a "core" group from which to select those individuals who would fulfill the criteria that had been established. When the persons in this group had been exhausted

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
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in terms of meeting these criteria, or when they were no longer available,[12] I went to other villagers. All told, 64 percent of the sample (72 of the 111 informants), equally divided between the two forms of the SCT, were chosen from this "core" or randomly selected group.

[12] During the SCT portion of the research, 20 percent of the households originally selected for interviewing in the lottery in effect dissolved. Note that the units of the lottery were households, not individuals. The reason for this was twofold: (a) I had originally thought of the possibility of doing some intra-familial comparisons, and wanted to be sure I would have the data should such comparisons eventually appear worthwhile; (b) more important, because of the possibility that older members of families would feel affronted should I ask for their children rather than for them, it seemed advisable to have as many informants as possible from the same family unit. This consideration was not to be taken lightly. Some Bang Chaners, for their own peculiar reasons, felt honored to be interviewed by the *farang*. To enter their house, and then in effect ignore them because they were not members of the sample would have been an insult.

It should also be noted that although the purpose of the lottery was in part to select a portion of the sample, an even more important purpose was the religious sanction that it gave to the research in the eyes of some villagers.

4:Phillips E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1966
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[125] syntax is in our culture—and except for certain ritual occasions, perhaps in all cultures—one of the basic symptoms of psychopathy. Witness the "word salads" of hebephrenic schizophrenics and the "mental lapses" of aphasics. (See White 1948: 527; Brown 1958: 293; Goldstein 1948; and Jakobson 1957.)

On occasion some of our Bang Chan informants would ignore syntactic considerations and use the sentence cues as triggering devices for their own unanchored thoughts and preoccupations: *"When I realize other people do not like me, I feel . . .* that's happened to me sometimes. When you see that other people don't like you, you should avoid them. The Lord Buddha says. . . ." And then the completion might develop into a brief lecture on morality. At other times, the cue would trigger off an autistic explosion: *"His most unattractive quality is . . .* don't have anything to do with him! He is a wicked person. I do not want to speak to him. He doesn't talk sense. One day while I was fishing, he came along and asked me to have intercourse with him. I cursed him!" (Other data on this informant indicate that she was referring to her estranged husband.) These types of [124] "ungrammatical" responses seem to derive from the social aspects of the [123] interviewing situation—the informant has a friendly listener with a willing [521] ear and thus occasionally ignores the original definition of the SCT task to declaim on his favorite subject[3]—and also from the fact that in social discourse our Thai villagers seem to indulge more in, and have considerably greater tolerance for, autistic thought than do most Americans. That is, the villagers are more accustomed to making and hearing statements that have little apparent "objective" meaning (or in the language of psycholinguistics, "referential" meaning: Brown 1958: 315) but which are symptoms of inner states and preoccupations. The crucial point here is that a listener often does not know—or care—precisely what a speaker is talking about, but simply accepts the other person's utterances as expressions of inner, unknown concerns.[4] Such expressions involve the leaping over of connective thought and syntactic constraints (as in the above example of the lecherous husband) or indifference to the logical currents of the discussion.[5]

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[3] Sometimes his discussions are simply expressions of phatic communion—the desire to indulge in chitchat for its own sake. (See Malinowski 1923: 315; and Hockett 1958: 585.)

[4] It should be remembered that speech is not only a device for carrying on social [191] interaction but also a mechanism for articulating one's inner preoccupations, whether or not other people understand. It is this latter use (which, incidentally, is ontogenetically the more basic: Piaget 1932; and Langer 1942: 35) about which Bang Chaners seem particularly tolerant. In general, a speaker in Bang Chan is not held very responsible for what he says. One rarely hears in the village—except from prying anthropologists—such charges as "I do not know what you are talking about. Explain yourself." For one thing, such a query would not be particularly polite; and in the villagers' scheme of things, what a person says is really his own business, re-

admit in response to a direct question* that they have a debt. Confidence in the validity of these responses as an index of indebtedness is increased since the expected correlation between indebtedness and ownership of buffalo is reflected in the survey data.

TABLE 23. INCIDENCE OF REPORTED DEBT IS HIGHER AMONG VILLAGERS WHO REPORT OWNERSHIP OF MORE BUFFALOES

	Reported Ownership of Buffaloes		
	None (81)	One to three (155)	Four or more (97)
"...Do you now have a debt?			
Yes	49%	56%	69%
No	51	44	31

When the use of agricultural innovations is examined for those farmers who say they have a debt, compared with those who deny it, it becomes apparent that there is a relationship only between indebtedness and use of the motor but not with any of the other mentioned innovations. Seventy-nine per cent of the male farmers who said they have a debt own or use the motor; among those who claim they have no debt the proportion owning or using the motor is significantly less (60 per cent).

TABLE 24. INCIDENCE OF MOTOR USE IS HIGHER AMONG FARMERS WHO REPORT INDEBTEDNESS

	"...Do you now have a debt" Yes (125)	No (105)
Motor		
Has used it	79%	60%
Never did	21	40
Tilapia		
Has tried it	37%	33%
Never did	63	67
Fertilizer		
Has used it	14%	16%
Never did	86	84
Mushrooms		
Has tried them	45%	48%
Never did	55	52

**Male farmers only

* The question: "...I'd like to ask about a problem common in rural places all over the world. Do you now have a debt or not?" Janlekha's M.S. thesis, ibid., reports a similar distribution of indebtedness for his sample of 96 farmers.

6: Goldsen and Ralis Z-4.5 (1955) 1957
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APPENDIX A

March 1956

HOW THE BANG CHAN SURVEY WAS CONDUCTED

How the Study Came to be Made

121 The survey conducted in May 1955 was part of a program* for testing diverse techniques of data-gathering in cultures substantially different from U.S. and Western European cultures, where the survey method of gathering data had been developed and tested.

114 The survey questionnaire was developed and the field work carried out with the help of area specialists of the Cornell Research Center in Bangkok. Mr. Robert B. Textor and Mr. Loebonga Sotabhaya of the Cornell Thai staff assisted the field director and recruited the English-speaking Thai university students who interviewed for the survey.

The Questionnaire

12 After a period of training interviewers about the questionnaire and techniques of interviewing, the questionnaire was pretested in a rural community near Bang Chan. Then the staff, consisting of the field director, his deputy, and five Thai interviewers, among them one woman, moved to Bang Chan to carry out the survey.

124 Thai and English-language versions of the schedule were drawn up, but of the 335 interviews conducted in the survey, 125 the overwhelming majority was conducted in the Thai language rather than through an interpreter.

The Interviewers

124 The interviewers were a mixed group: one Thai-speaking American anthropologist; one trained Thai anthropological field worker; two Thai Christians (one a theology, the other a medical student); one Thai Buddhist medical student, one Thai Buddhist female social worker; and an American sociologist who used the Thai interviewers as interpreters.

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[122] * The Cornell Cross-Cultural Methodology Project for the Development and Testing of Improved Methods to Study Underdeveloped Areas is supported by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation and is a project in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology.

On the average, an interview took about 40 minutes. Interviews ranged from about 20 minutes to one and a half hours. During the first days of interviewing the duration of an interview was on the average a little longer, and decreased as the interviewers became familiar with the instrument. For the first four days of interviewing, the daily output of interviews amounted to an average of 23; from the fifth day on the daily average output increased to 32 interviews. 124 •

The survey focussed mainly upon factors associated with the acceptance or rejection of certain changes in the village. The questionnaire was designed to permit: (1) a check on whether a question was meaningful to the respondents in the sense of its analytic significance in the study design; (2) testing the relative analytic sensitiveness of different types of question and answer categories; (3) collecting data whose manifest content was identical to content which had been investigated in other field stations; (4) collecting data, which, while differing from the manifest content covered in other field stations, nevertheless, had the same conceptual significance in this particular culture analysis; and (5) collecting specific information of interest to the area specialists assisting the Methodology Study. 125

Sampling

Problems of sampling were minimal. The entire area previously studied by Cornell anthropologists, consisting of seven hamlets, constituted the universe from which respondents were to be selected. The sampling unit was a household, defined as a single person or a group of persons constituting an economic unit and customarily using the same kitchen. Interviewers were instructed to select the head of the household as respondent. The head of the household was defined as that resident whom other members considered to be the head. If the head of the household was unavailable, interviewers were instructed to substitute "an articulate member of the household," defined as a person in a given household eligible to substitute as head. The majority of the respondents (85 per cent) were the actual heads of their households; substitutions were made only in the remaining 15 per cent of the cases. Interviews were gathered from all but one of the 336 households in the Bang Chan area studied.

The sample obtained is composed of 243 males and 90 females, of 298 Buddhists and 35 Moslems. As far as ascertainable, the respondents reported their place of birth as follows: 125 621

140 were born in Khanhajaav Commune
116 were born in Bang Chan Commune
11 were born in Minburi Commune
30 were born outside of the three above communes

6: Goldsen and Rallis Z-4.5 (1955) 1957
AO7 Central Thai AO7

APPENDIX C

Cornell Methodology Project,
Bangkok
2 May 1955

Interviewer Guide

Bang Chan Survey 1955

I. INTRODUCTION 121

This survey is a multipurpose study. One of its objectives is to help determine HOW one can best use a technique such as a survey for community research in South East Asian villages. A survey is one of several techniques used in community research by Western social scientists. The study of a community permits to acquire knowledge about what is essential and important in the life of a village and town. Once a store of knowledge is available and described, the door is being opened for the introduction of innovations and improvements based on scientific knowledge and not based on hunches and speculative thinking. However, the instruments of social science research still bear great limitations. Life processes are the laboratory of research. Thus, dynamic processes are faced which make research complex.

Another objective of this survey is to study the meaning in a given cultural setting of variations in question wordings, different types of answer categories, and various types of questions in terms of question structure.

Finally, an attempt is made as well to collect some data from a typical rice village in the hinterland of Bangkok for supplementing cultural anthropological hypotheses and findings.

This interviewer guide is to assist the interviewer in his task. Here anticipated difficulties and weaknesses in this survey are brought to light in order to make it easier for the interviewer to avoid traps inherent in field situations. 125 124
First of all, it should be noted that replies to ALL QUESTIONS ARE REQUIRED. It means that a given number for each question or subquestion must be ENCIRCLED ON THE ANSWER SHEET OR THE RESPONDENT'S REPLY MUST BE REGISTERED IN THE PLACE PROVIDED FOR. Unless strict adherence to this rule is obtained from each interviewer, questionnaires will contain omissions and become valueless. Such questionnaires would signify a loss of effort, a loss of time, and unnecessary exposure of respondents to interviews. Secondly, an interviewer who has any doubts about procedural points, should discuss them without any hesitation either with the field director, or with his deputy, Mr. Textor, or with Mr. Civ, who, all three, consider it their responsibility to clarify all possibly confusing matters and to give such training to each interviewer as to enable him to perform his task with ease.

II. DEFINITIONS

Definitions are here provided only for a few basic terms within the context of this survey. An attempt will be made to discuss the many concepts contained in the questionnaire before the beginning of the actual field work, as the desirability to keep this guide short makes it unadvisable to go into lengthy details at the present time.

A household is a single person or a group of persons making one economic unit and distinguished as one kitchen unit. It is likely that members of the same household sleep under one roof (or roofs) belonging to one person, but the main criterion of the definition is the kitchen unit. With each kitchen goes one household. There is occasionally more than one household under one roof; this is found when more than one kitchen is encountered in one dwelling unit.

The head of the household, shortly referred to as HH, is the person whom other members of the household consider to be the head and who lives in this household - we exclude absentee heads of households.

Relationship to the HH is to be designated as whatever applies among the following categories: husband, wife, son, daughter, father, mother, mother-in-law, or "other relative."

Respondent, shortly referred to as R., is the person being interviewed. The R. should preferably be the HH, or, in the absence or nonavailability of the HH, an articulate adult member of the household.

Articulate member of the household is a person in a given household who could be considered eligible to substitute as R. for the HH. An articulate member of the household is another member of the same household as the HH. Such an articulate member should be an adult in the position to express himself without unusual difficulties and he is expected to have a scope of views not much less limited than those of the HH.

III. PROCEDURE

Our survey will be conducted in Bang Chan, shortly referred to as BC. This is a rice village about 20 miles from Bangkok. The Cornell Research Center has been working in this village for many years and friendly relations have been established all over. Senior members of the Cornell Research Center have taken great pain in maintaining good rapport with the villagers and are, naturally, anxious that nothing should occur to damage the established fine relations. Each interviewer is expected to keep this in mind all the time while in BC.

The basic unit in the social structure of BC is the household. A number of households is grouped in a hamlet under a headman. We will bring our survey altogether into seven hamlets. The total number of households as defined by us above will be in the neighborhood of 350. Our target is to secure one interview from each household kitchen unit. 124 • 621

Field conditions will be arranged such as to give each interviewer the best possible comfort and working facilities. Tentatively, interviewing time is set for 8 to 11 and 16 to 19 hours. However, weather and the experience of the first interviewing days will dictate the fixing of a more definite or a more flexible time schedule. After the end of each morning and afternoon interviewing period, the interviewers will deliver their completed interviews to Mr. Civ who will check the same for completeness. 124

Interviewing areas will be assigned and designated to each interviewer in due time. Then, the interviewer will proceed similarly or just as reported in notes on a trial interview by Mr. Civ: "I saw a man sitting on the ground in front of the house. With a smiling face, I made a Thai salute and said: Hello! Good morning, Sir, I would like to ask for your permission to ask you something about the life of Thai farmers as well as about the way of life in general... Sitting down near the R., I said smoothly: Excuse me, Sir, are you the HH?... How many kitchens do you have in your house? Only your family living in the house?... Thank you, Sir... Now, I am starting the questions, please be kind enough to answer, you will of course."

Should the potential R. ask the interviewer about his activity, the suggested reply is: I am doing research for the Cornell University.

Should the HH tell the interviewer that he has no time at the given moment, then the interviewer will attempt to fix an hour at the convenience of the HH.

Should any difficulty arise, it is suggested that the interviewer report the trouble as soon as practicable to the field director or his deputy.

Each interviewer is required to adhere rigorously to the phrasing of the questions in the questionnaire. Below, indications are provided for probing in situations, where it might be advisable. Probing is using some unbiasing short phrases for strengthening the question stimulus. Just what exactly is included in a probe will depend on the given situation, the nature of the R. and the degree of rapport between interviewer and R. At times, a short period of silence of perhaps 15 to 20 seconds might well produce the desired stimulus and make the R. speak after his first initial hesitation.

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125 Each interviewer is actually given three instruments to work with: (1) The questionnaire according to which he asks the given questions VERBATIM AND IN THE ORDER INDICATED, (2) The answer sheet on which he registers IMMEDIATELY AFTER EACH QUESTION RESPONSE the obtained replies, and (3) the interviewer checkform which is filled out after the completion of the entire interview, as soon as practicable.

IV. DISCUSSION OF QUESTIONS

The questionnaire consists of 66 questions according to the devised numbering system. Actually, many of the questions are frequently made up to include one or more subquestions. EACH QUESTION REQUIRES AN ENTRY ON THE ANSWER SHEET. However, 28 questions contain subquestions which are conditional. These are to be asked only in the case that a given condition is fulfilled in the response to the main questions. The conditional subquestions carry the following numbers: 3c, 6b, 9 b and c, 10 b, 12 b, c, and d, 14 b, 16 b, 18 b, 19 b, 20 b and d, 26 b, 27 b, 29 b, d, f, and g. 33 b, 36 b and c, 37 b, 40 b, 41 b, 42 b and d, 47 b and d, 49 b, 56 b and c, 57 b, 62 b and c, 63 b,c, d, 64 b, c, d, e, f, and g, and 66 b.

Six questions should be addressed to FARM OPERATORS ONLY. These questions are: 9, 12, 16, 17, 18 and 41. ALL OTHER QUESTIONS SHOULD BE ASKED OF ALL Rs.

The questions are formulated in such a way as to provide certain answer categories. These are: yes-no, agree-disagree, right-wrong, calibrated, multiple choice and open-ended categories. The way to handle these answer categories has been discussed in length.

At this point, attention is directed to the open-ended reply category, because it is more difficult to deal with. One procedure would be to write down verbatim a response obtained from the R. However, a R. might, at times make a speech and the interviewer would then not be in the position to register all that is said. He would not, furthermore, consider it necessary to register what had been said not connected with the question asked. Therefore, the interviewer would likely to be summing up the response. Such pertinent summaries are most important and frequently made. In this questionnaire, it had been attempted to anticipate the response categories to open-ended questions on the answer sheet to a great extent, as they are likely to fall in given patterns. In such cases, the likely answer categories are found on the answer sheet. On the other hand, open-ended questions remain to be filled in by the interviewer, when lines instead of categories are found on the answer sheet. Here, a verbatim rotation of the R.'s pertinent points is essential. In case of doubt, each interviewer is encouraged to discuss such

125 items the same day with Mr. Textor or with Mr. Civ. As the space provided on the answer might not be sufficient for this • 124 purpose, the back page of the interviewer checkform should be used and an asterik should be placed in the space provided for the reply on the answer sheet. It is expected that for these questions one to three line replies would be of normal length. Such replies, posted on the backpage of the interviewer checkform, can be written in Thai and sufficient space should be left between the various notations for an English translation to be fitted in.

Before an item by item discussion of the questions, just two more remarks about probing. Probing is chiefly used in two kinds of situations: (a) when a R. is slow in replying to a question, or seems not to have understood a given question, or when he might try to avoid a reply by stating that he does not know (D.K.) or "does not recall"; in such cases the question or relevant parts of it are repected verbatim; and (b) when a R. gives an irrelevant answer and the interviewer is prompted to probe with the intention to stimulate a response to the point of the question; here, usually more probing will be necessary than under (a).

DO NOT PAY ANY ATTENTION TO THE "CLM." COLUMN NUMBER DESIGNATIONS which follow question numbers on the answer sheet.

Qu. 2: Write in the precise age obtained on the line behind the corresponding age group. Below, you find a table of the zodiac years ranging from 24 to 73, which will provide you with a check and an adjustment of the frequently approximative age indicated by the R. For instance, assume that a R. says he is 50 years old, when you ask him: How old are you: You then ask him in what zodiac year he has been born. Assuming his reply is "khaan," you then read from below table "53 years" and this is the age which you register in the line behind: " 50 to 59 age group.

[805] Table of zodiac years

nanee	24, 36, 48, 60, 72	chalua	30, 42, 54, 66, 78
woog	23, 35, 47, 59, 71	khaan	29, 41, 53, 65, 77
rukha	22, 34, 46, 58, 70	tho	28, 40, 52, 64, 76
coo	21, 33, 45, 57, 69	maroong	27, 39, 51, 63, 75
kun	20, 32, 44, 56, 68	maseng	26, 38, 50, 62, 74
chuad	31, 43, 44, 67, 79	mania	25, 37, 49, 61, 73

Qu. 6: You ask the R.: Do you smoke and offer him simultaneously a cigarette.

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Qu. 7: Some reply to this question is desirable and probing might be at times required. In the case that one reply to the point is obtained, no further probing is necessary. If there is no answer or an answer not to the point, probe once by repeating the question and, if necessary, by adding: You probably can tell me something about the new things.

Qu. 8, 9c, 11, 12 b, 13, 15 c, and 16 b ARE AS WELL QUESTIONS where probing might occasionally be required. When we talk of fertilizer, we have exclusively artificial fertilizer in mind and not manure or compost.

Qu. 17 a, 17 b, 17 c, and 17 d are provided with lines behind the given answer categories on which the figures in roj or tang respectively should be registered in the corresponding place just as you handle this in Qu. 2.

Qu. 18 b: This is perhaps a difficult question for some Rs., as simple as it might look. Probing-eventually the use of a silence period for stimulating embarrassment and response-is recommended, when no fast reply is forthcoming.

Qu. 46 and 47: Pretests have indicated that the concepts of public welfare work and the distinction of what are contributions in connection with the Wat or religious activities and other contributions are not very clear in the minds of many Rs. Proceed according to the principle of sound logic for obtaining replies to Qu. 46 as distinguished from Qu. 47. In these questions some explaining might be exceptionally well justified.

Qu. 58: City limits of Bangkok are defined as follows: Present city limits at Km 11, Lard Prow.

Qu. 62 b and 64 c: Probe for each duty and job. You can consider this like a multiple choice question, as the same R. might refer to more than one duty or more than one job held.

Qu. 66 b: This last question is again an open-ended question of the projective type. It is expected that respondents will have no difficulties in expressing their wishful thoughts. You can probe freely, if need arises.

7: Janlekha X-4,5 (1948-1953)p956 AO7 Central Thai AO7
Bangchan

123 by another farmer who was identified as Headman Weg of Hamlet 6 of the same commune. Weg said his hamlet has more people and more buffaloes, and invited us to his home which is on the other extremity of the village. Arrangement was made for a boat to carry us there on the appointed date two days later. Thus we were invited into the village by one of the leading residents who took pride in the possibility of a study of his village by an American professor.

124 At the beginning, we sought from the villagers only simple information. After the first month, when it became clear that confidence had been won, more intimate questions concerning economic matters were raised. Thai peasants do not take questions about family relationship or age as intimate questions; they even enjoy answering them. It was noticed, however, that some types of questions brought better response than others. We did not attempt to get all the information we needed at the first interview, and only the topics which appeared to interest the respondent were pursued. We did not set any rigid rule on the length of an interview period but left it up to the apparent disposition of the interviewee. It was observed, however, that normally distraction began to set in after the first half-hour. We usually stopped at this point. If the conversation had to be continued, we made it apparent that business was over by laying aside our pencil and notes. In every possible way we tried not to offend respondents. Not infrequently we brought an interview to an end within the first few minutes

124 when only a slight sign of distraction was noticed. Our daily visits to this small concentration of population gave re-interviewing a much higher advantage over a prolonged interview. Experience with Bangchan people revealed that occasional non-response was not due to the subject matter but rather to the approach and circumstances. With a more tactful approach and under a slightly different circumstance in a subsequent interview, we were able to obtain most of the information we sought but did not get in the previous interview.

123 To return the hospitality rendered us we offered small personal services like a lift or taking the sick to Bangkok hospitals. We tried to avoid monetary gifts to individuals which might lead to distorted information intended to please us, but we did give monetary gifts to public institutions like the school at an opportune time. We were particularly anxious to help the community as a whole especially in the fight against epidemics. Incidentally, Bangchan will always remember our active part in bringing the veterinarians to the village in time to check the spread of rinderpest in the end of 1948. From then on the villagers tended to think of us as a most effective means to communicate with high officials in Bangkok. This conviction was reinforced by subsequent visits of top level officials to the village which were unprecedented. In the second period of study in 1952-54, we were able to render medical aid and advice. We also played a significant role in the campaign

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In our second visit during 1952-53 our informants appeared to talk more freely on the topic of debts, especially when they were interviewed on the kinds and amounts of special expenses and receipts. At the beginning we did not ask our sample-operators direct questions on the amount of credit purchase or loan they were having. Only casual information pertaining to debts that arose during the discussion of related topics was noted and filed separately by the informant and also by the person referred to both as a lender and as a borrower. It was noticed that while most informants did not want to lay bare the whole situation of their debts, they were rather cooperative and sometimes even eager to make partial statements as long as an answer to the blunt question "How much do you owe now?" could be avoided. For example, one of the 96 sample-operators was telling the author the amounts of outstanding debts of some of his fellow operators (ranging from 3,000 baht to 15,000 baht) and proceeded on to generalize that rice farmers had to go into debts at one time or another. The author, thinking that that was the most opportune time to ask the man about his own debts, raised the blunt question just mentioned. The informant replied, "Just about the same amounts as these people are owing." He then changed the subject, indicating an unwillingness to give the exact amount of his outstanding debts. In the conversation that followed, however, he eagerly stated that he had been able since 1948 to clear off as much as 21,000 baht of debts. When asked how much a proportion

• 124 426 511 that was to the total amount of his debts, he paused to calculate and then said it was exactly three-fourths of the total. The author then asked whether he was right in figuring that the man's current outstanding debt was 7,000 baht. The informant admitted that that was the correct figure.

There were, however, some twenty farm operators in our sample who took the author as one of their family members, and were thus very cooperative in giving any information that the author wished to have. Thus, by the end of 1952 we had a considerable amount of data on loans. Constantly checking available information in the files, from the dry season of 1953 onward the author put more effort in getting the debt situation of each of our 96 sample-families, concentrating first on the extent of loans and their respective interest rates. During the inundation period of 1953, effort was shifted to getting information about credit purchases and their respective rates of interest which were brought up to date as of December of the same year. Information on loans was also brought up to date at this same time which may be considered as the end of business year because the early varieties of rice were being harvested at this time of the year. Table 60 shows the classification of farm operators according to kind of debts involved as of the time immediately preceding the sale of the early varieties of rice.

*128 426 511 It is seen that there were only two non-responses out of the total of 96 sample-families. Among these 94 farm

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 346]